

Message Text

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13

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

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O 090813Z NOV 73 ZFF-6

FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN NIACT IMMEDIATE

SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 939

INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL IMMEDIATE

USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 4599

EXDIS

TOSEC

FOR SECRETARY FROM SCALI

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR KS KN UN CH

SUBJ: KOREA IN 28TH GA

REF: USUN 4598

1. AMB HUANG HUA FORMALLY ASKED TONIGHT THAT YOU GIVE ME IMMEDIATE AUTHORIZATION TO NEGOTIATE FINAL PHASE OF CONFIDENTIAL COMPROMISE KOREAN AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD BE BASED ON THREE POINTS HE OUTLINED NOV 7. HE SAID EXPLICITLY HE DID NOT WANT TO WAIT UNTIL YOU ARRIVE IN PEKING TO WRAP UP DEAL.

2. IF WE DECLINE TO NEGOTIATE WITH HIM HERE IN NEW YORK, HE SAID "THE POSSIBILITY OF UPSETTING THE AGREEMENT WE DESIRE WOULD NOT REST WITH US." HUANG, BACKING UP THIS URGENT REQUEST, PRESENTED ME WITH SUGGESTED CHINESE DRAFT OF STATEMENT WHICH WOULD BE READY FROM CHAIR AND WHICH HAS AS AIM AVOIDING CHINESE-AMERICAN CONFRONTATION. INITIAL ANALYSIS BY MY STAFF CLEARLY INDICATES CHINESE HAVE COME LONG WAY FROM LAST NIGHT'S SUGGESTED LANGUAGE, VASTLY SIMPLIFYING CONFIDENTIAL

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APPROACH TO POINT WHERE WE BELIEVE (A) ROK AND OTHER SPONSORS WILL BE ABLE TO ACCEPT IT AND (B) AGREED DOCUMENT CAN BE NEGOTIATED WITH CHINESE IN MATTER OF FEW HOURS WHILE MEETING OUR ESSENTIAL SECURITY AND UN OBJECTIVES.

3. KEY QUOTE FROM HUANG IN TWO-HOUR MEETING TONIGHT WAS: "WE FORMALLY REQUEST THAT AMB SCALI OBTAIN AUTHORIZATION AS SPEEDILY AS POSSIBLE TO NEGOTIATE IN NEW YORK. OUR SOLUTION DOES NOT INVOLVE ALL KOREA ISSUES. IT DECIDES ONLY THAT THE KOREAN QUESTION NOT BE PUT TO A VOTE AT THE CURRENT SESSION OF THE UNGA. COULD THE AMB SUGGEST TO DR. KISSINGER THAT HE IMMEDIATELY ISSUE INSTRUCTIONS TO ALLOW AMB SCALI TO NEGOTIATE IN NEW YORK AND NOT WAIT UNTIL HE GETS TO CHINA?"

4. HUANG CLAIMS HE CAN BRING ALONG NORTH KOREANS AND INSISTS ON COMPLETE SECRECY IN WORKING OUT DETAILS WITH NO CONSULTATION YET WITH CO-SPONSORS, ONLY NORTH AND SOUTH KOREAN GOVTS, UNTIL FINAL TEXT IS MUTUALLY AGREED UPON BY THESE FOUR DELEGATIONS.

5. HE SURFACED PROPOSED STATEMENT AT END OF CONVERSATION AND ASKED ME TO REPORT IT AFTER HE BECAME CONVINCED THAT I DID NOT HAVE YOUR AUTHORIZATION TO AGREE ON PRINCIPLES IN HIS THREE POINTS AND NEGOTIATE AGREEMENT TONIGHT. MY STAFF BELIEVES HE MAY BE PRESSING FOR SWIFTEST ACTION, WITHOUT YOU PERSONALLY GETTING INVOLVED IN PEKING, TO DEMONSTRATE THAT NORTH KOREANS HERE IN NEW YORK WERE ABLE TO ACHIEVE RESULTS ON THE SCENE WITHOUT A SECRET US-CHINA DEAL MADE IN PEKING WHICH WOULD SMACK OF SAME KIND OF EXCLUSIVE DEAL YOU MADE IN MOSCOW ON MIDDLE EAST AND WHICH CHINESE HAVE CRITICIZED AS SUPERPOWER CONDOMINIUM ARRANGEMENT. SECOND REASON MAY BE CHINESE DESIRE TO NAIL DOWN ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE BEFORE ALGERIANS AND OTHERS GRAB ISSUE AS DEVICE FOR BLASTING US FOR MAINTAINING FOREIGN TROOPS IN SOUTH KOREA AND SIDESTEPPING UN COMMAND ISSUE, FORCING CHINESE TO FOLLOW SUIT.

6. HUANG CONCEIVABLY COULD BE INVOLVED IN BUREAUCRATIC WRESTLING MATCH WITH PEKING BUT AT PRESENT HE BELIEVES MY INABILITY NEGOTIATE MEANS I AM "PLAYING GAMES" FOR SOME CONFIDENTIAL

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ULTERIOR USG MOTIVE AND DELIBERATELY DELAYING WHEN THEY HAVE MADE WHAT IN THEIR VIEW IS BONA FIDE OFFER WHICH DEMONSTRATES THEIR WILLINGNESS TO REACH FRIENDLY UNDERSTANDING.

7. THROUGHOUT MEETING TONIGHT I KEPT EMPHASIZING I HAD NO INSTRUCTIONS ALLOWING ME TO NEGOTIATE, BUT WAS PREPARED TO LISTEN AND RELAY TO YOU ANY SUGGESTIONS HUANG HAD FOR YOUR DECISION: WHETHER TO GIVE ME INSTRUCTIONS TO COMPLETE FINAL NEGOTIATIONS OR TO GIVE YOU OPTION OF NEGOTIATING DEAL IN PEKING. HE CLARLY, REPEATEDLY AND EMPHATICALLY SAID HE WANTS AGREEMENT NEGOTIATED HERE BECAUSE HE BELIEVES IT SIMPLE MATTER NOW THAT THEY HAVE MADE CONCESSIONS, PARTICULARLY NOTING THAT

THEIR LANGUAGE IS "NEUTRAL," DELIBERATELY TAILORED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT OUR OBJECTIONS AND IS NOW NON-CONTENTIOUS. MY EXPERTS BELIEVE IF YOU GIVE ME GO AHEAD WE HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO DO WHAT WE SAID WE WANT TO DO: AVOID CONFRONTATION WITH CHINESE AT THIS GA ON KOREAN ISSUE WITHOUT PREJUDICING INTERESTS IN KOREA. REFUSAL TO GO AHEAD HERE IN UN SETTING WOULD, I BELIEVE, AROUSE THEIR SUSPICIONS UNLESS YOU KNOW BROAD SWEEP CONFIDENTIAL REASONS UNKNOWN TO ME.

8. FYI: ROK FONMIN KIM THIS AFTERNOON (NOV 8) IN ADVANCE OF TONIGHT'S MEETING WAS IMPRESSED WITH HUANG'S THREE-POINT PROPOSAL OF LAST NIGHT (NOV 7) AND THOUGHT WE IMMEDIATELY SHOULD ACCEPT THREE POINTS AND NEGOTIATE LANGUAGE LATER AS CHINESE PROPOSED. KIM APPARENTLY FELT IT WAS GOOD DEAL FOR HIM AND WE SHOULD TAKE IT AND RUN. I HAVE NO BURNING DESIRE TO BE AN UNSCHEDULED NEGOTIATOR OR TO UPSET ANY PEKING SCENARIO YOU MAY HAVE IN MIND, BUT RECOMMEND UNLESS THERE ARE OVERRIDING REASONS YOU SHOULD GIVE ME AUTHORITY TO NEGOTIATE. HUANG CLEARLY DID NOT PRESENT SUGGESTED LANGUAGE ON TAKE-IT OR LEAVE-IT BASIS AND I FEEL CONFIDENT HE WILLING MAKE SOME ADDITIONAL REASONABLE CHANGES. I PROMISED HIM I WOULD CONTACT YOU INSTANTLY AND REPORT BACK IMMEDIATELY YOUR DECISION. (TO UNLERLINE THEIR URGENCY, CHINESE, AS WE LEFT PRC MISSION, GAVE MISOFF NUMBER WHERE AMBASSADOR COULD BE REACHED ROUND CLOCK.)

9. AT MIDNIGHT TONIGHT AFTER MEETING, MISOFF CONFIDENTIALLY CONFIDENTIAL

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ADVISED SOUTH KOREAN POLCOUNS OF THIS NEWEST DEVELOPMENT. SOUTH KOREAN SAID HE NINETY PER CENT CERTAIN KOREANS CAN BUY THIS REVISED CHINESE LANGUAGE PERHAPS WITH MINOR CHANGES.
SCALI

CONFIDENTIAL

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